423 GROUND RENT--bap or mámila the revenue assessment on land;
651 zhino-thal the unpaid labour which landowners have to supply,
427 when required by the State; ngidzhing or zhingrin the rent paid yearly for land rented for a limited number of years only; SHast zhing the small yearly rent paid, in addition to an original lump sum, for cultivated lands rented in perpetuity; SHaskhang the rent paid for ground used for building purposes.

826 [56] HAIRY--srdchan or SHrdchan general, spoonjan on face. The Ladákis are a very smooth faced race, and they consider it a disfigurement if a man has a strong growth of hair on his face.

601 HALF BLOOD--The Ladákis have no single word for this; they have to say "of one father, but of different mothers," or as the case may be.

563 HALF CASTE--árGHón. This is the general and only term for a
583 hybrid, and by no means always signifies a half caste.
797 ArGHóns are all Mahomedans, most of them are Sunis, but some also Shiahs. The former are the result of connections formed by the Mahomedan traders, who yearly visit Leh in large numbers, and the women of the country, while the latter are the result, generally speaking, of connections formed between men of Baltistán and women of Ladák.

The Mahomedans of Central Asia are habitually incontinent, and when they come to Leh during the trade season (1st August to 1st October) they (as prostitution is against their religion, and as they can only marry women of their own religion), induce the Ladák women to adopt the faith of Islám, after which they go through the "nikah" marriage ceremony with them.

[771] Their religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladák, and the women have no objection to turning Mahomedan, and becoming the "nikah" brides of men who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half caste Tibetan Mahomedans called "árGHóns," and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mahomedanism), but their children too are "árGHóns," thus it may happen that a man is practically a pure Tibetan, nevertheless if he traces his descent from a connection formed between a Mahomedan, and a Ladaki woman, he is termed

[595] an "árGHón." ArGHóns are never polyandrists, and though

the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

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In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) ches (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

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LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "cháruk") sakrey or SHal (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Village Communities and Tenures.

Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes:—

"There is a custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *chákrí* or *káng chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan 4½ acres, for Dágis and other low castes 1½ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothís* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothís* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothí* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothí*, plus *nazarána* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nazarána*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothís* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnewasals*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *chákrís* or family retainers, or by his *káng chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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427 Rights of the Thakúrs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothás* in Láhaul.

or forced labour for the State, and of certain periodical services to the Thákur; an average *jeola* contains about 15 *lákh*, or 5 acres. A *dotoen's* holding is on an average equal in extent to from one to two *jeolas*; a *cháksi's* holding varies between a half and a whole *jeola*, a *káng chumpá* generally holds only about a quarter *jeola* or less. There are some other small miscellaneous rent-free holdings, the revenue of which must be considered to have been remitted, not in lieu of service to the Thákur, but for the good of the whole community. For example, a few fields known as *garzing* are generally held rent-free by a family of blacksmiths or *lohárs* not so much in lieu of service, for they are paid for their work separately, as to help them to a livelihood, and induce them to settle down. In the same way the *hensís* or musicians hold a little land rent-free under the name of *bezing*; the *jodsis* or astrologers under the name of *onpozing*, and the *béds* or physicians under the name of *manzing*. Astrologers and physicians are, however, men of the regular landholding class, who have also separate *jeolas* or holdings of revenue-paying land. The *lohárs* and *hensís* are low class people, who hold no land, except a few fields given them rent-free. The *garhpán* land, no doubt, belongs solely to the Thákur, who is also landlord or superior prorpietor of the whole *kothí*. "The *yulfa* or villagers," writes Mr. Lyall, "I hold to to be subordinate proprietors of their holdings; so are the *dotoens*. At first was I inclined to think that the *cháksis* and *káng chumpás* were mere tenants in the *garhpán* or private lands of the Thákurs, but on further enquiry their title did not seem to be essentially weaker than that of any other class. They are never evicted, and the custom with regard to inheritance and power of mortgage, with regard to their holdings, and those of the regular landholders, appears to be precisely the same. I consider them therefore to be also subordinate proprietors of their holdings, differing only from the *yulfas* inasmuch as they pay no rent, and do private service only to the Thákur; whereas the latter pay rent and do public service for the State (*begár*), as well as occasional private service to the Thákur. I do not think that the *lohárs*, the *jodhsis* or the *béds*, could now be evicted from the fields they hold rent-free under name of smiths, astrologers, and physicians' land. Probably they could have been evicted by a vote of the community or order of the Thákur in former times, but the general idea now seems to be that they could hardly be evicted, however inefficient. The *hensís*, however, seem to be considered to hold at the pleasure of the Thákur." In some places a field or two are found held rent-free by a *gonpa* or Buddhist monastery, and cultivated not by any one family, but by the neighbouring landholders in unison. This land is considered to be the property of the monastery. So also patches of land under the name of *lházing* or god land, cultivated by the man who acts for the time being as *pujári* or priest of some petty local divinity, are considered the property of the shrine, if there is any, and not of the cultivator, who only holds till he vacates the office of priest, which is not hereditary. *Yurzing* is the term applied to small fields found in many villages, the grain of which is devoted to a feast held by the men who repair a canal. It should be considered the common property of all shareholders in the canal. There are

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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certain patches of waste land known as *dang piri*, which are like the cultivated fields, the property of individuals, and included in their holdings; they are situated below the water channels or on the sides of the fields, and, with the help of irrigation, produce abundant crops of hay. The rest of the waste must be held to be the property of the Thákur, subject to the rights of use belonging by custom to the subordinate landholders.

Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

The best way to describe the nature of the rents and services rendered to the Thákurs by the subordinate landholders will be to give a detail of them as they exist in one *jágír*. For example, *sothi* Ghumrang contains 58 *yulfa jeolas*, or full-sized villager's holdings, 24 full-sized holdings of *chákola* or retainers, and eight of *kúng chumpás* or farm servants. The rent paid by the peasant proprietors on a full *jeola* or holding consists of the following items:—

No.	Name of item.	Rate per *jeola*.	Remarks.
1	Old cash assessment ...	4-8-0	On fourteen *jeolas* Rs. 5 are taken.
2	Grain (*sattál*)	3 *láhi* 3 *páli* of barley	Three *jeolas* pay 6, and three pay 4 *láhi*.
3	Phari (cloth)	1 Phari or eight annas in cash.	Cash now always taken.
4	Suri (lit. Bribes) ...	From Re. 0-4 to 2-8.	
5	Betangna	Re. 1 cash.	

The last item was put on by the Thákur at the Regular Settlement; the other items are all of old standing.

The following is a list of the periodical services rendered to the Thákur by the men of this same class according to the custom of the manor of Ghumrang;—

(1) On certain days, known as *bésti* days, each *jeola* has to furnish one man to work on the Thákur's *parhpán* land. The Thákur supplies food and drink, but no pay. There are eleven *besti* days in the year, but two, the sowing and the mowing days, are distinguished as the big *bestis*; on them a man for each *jeola* attends, on the other nine only some fifteen or sixteen men who live handy actually attend; the others remain at home, and pay the Thákur annually, in lieu of attendance, the sum of one rupee under the name of *besti* money.

(2). Each *jeola* is bound to stable and feed, for the six months of the winter, one of the Thákur's horses; one horse to a *jeola* is allowed to be the old standard; but as the Thákur has not so many horses, it has been customary for two *jeolas* to divide between them the care and charges of one horse.

(3). Each *jeola* is bound to convey once in the year eight or nine *páli* or about sixteen pounds of rice (a light goat or sheep load) from the Kúlu valley to the Thákur's house in Láhaul.

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Detail of rents and services at which the subordinate landholders hold their fields of the Thákur of Ghumrang.

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(4). It is the custom in all *kothés* of Láhaul for the regular landholders each year to provide in turn a certain number of men to undertake the duty of supplying the common quarters of the *kothé* at Akhára, in Kúlu, with fuel. For the six winter months spent in Kúlu these men are steadily employed in bringing in fuel for general use, and they are in some degree remunerated by being paid Rs. 6 each, which sum is raised by a rate on all the *jeolas* of the *kothé*. In Ghumrang, each year four *jeolas* furnish four men for this duty, and they are also bound to carry loads for the Thákur in going to and from his house to Akhára, and to furnish him, as well as the subordinate landholders, with fuel while he remains there.

There are no *dotoen* or cadet families in the Ghumrang *jágír*. In other *jágírs* the *dotoen* are said after a time, when the sense of relationship to the Thákur has become faint, to be degraded into *cháksis*, and forced to do service for their holdings. A *cháksi* holding is held rent-free in lieu of the following services:—It is bound to furnish one man for continuous attendance on the Thákur, and for the performance of light work, such as cooking his food when on the march, leading his horse, &c. As, however, there are many *cháksi* holdings in Ghumrang, the custom now is that three holdings at a time furnish one man each for ten days, and then re-call their men till their turn comes again. But for the privilege of not supplying one man continuously, they pay the Thákur eight annas per month per holding, or six rupees per annum. A few of the *cháksis* are distinguished by the term of *lálok* or pass-crossers. These, instead of having to furnish a man for personal attendance, are only bound to furnish a man to cross a pass, either to Ladákh, Zánskár or Kúlu on the Thákur's business. If they cross a pass once in the year, the rest of it is their own, and they have no payment to make, but if not called upon to cross a pass, they pay seven rupees per annum as relief or *betangná*. Some *cháksis* of all kinds now pay seven rupees regularly in lieu of all services by agreement with the Thákur. All *cháksi* holdings send a man to work on the two big *besti* days, not on the others.

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Káng chumpá may be translated cottager. The family in possession of a holding of this kind is bound to furnish one man for continuous work at the Thákur's house or on his *garhpán* land. Some holdings of this kind will be found near wherever the Thákur has *garhpán*. When there is much work, the head of the family attends in person, otherwise he sends his wife, or son, or daughter. The person who is in attendance gets food five times a day, and does field work of every kind, or cuts and brings in wood or grass, sweeps the house, or combs wool, &c. Those who live at a distance from the Thákur's house cannot practically attend; they, therefore, do only field work on the *garhpán* land near them; but as they in this way get off lighter than the others, they are bound to feed and keep one sheep for the Thákur during the winter months. Some *káng chumpás* now pay five rupees per annum to the Thákur in lieu of all service.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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The Thákur takes the *chatrá* or colts from landholders of every class: the custom is that when a mare foals, and her master sees that he is not the lucky owner of a filly, he at once takes both mare and colt to the Thákur's house; there he is presented with a new cap as a mark of favour, and leaves his mare to be kept for six months at the Thákurs expense. The nature of the holdings, and of the rents and services paid to the Thákurs, are the same in all the *jágírs*; there are differences of detail, but they do not require to be mentioned.

Land held by the Gúrú Ghantál monastery.

The big monastery of Gúrú Ghantál, with its chapels of ease at Koksar and Sansa, holds a good deal of land in different *kothís* rent-free as endowment. More than half is held of the *gonpa* by *káng chumpá* tenants, who by way of rent only present annually some shoulders of mutton, pots of whisky, and plaited sandals; but are bound to perform certain fixed services, such as the cultivation of the rest of the monastery land, the sweeping of snow off the roof of the monastery in winter, the bringing in so many faggots for winter fuel, &c.

Rights retained by the quondam Thákur of Birbogí.

There is a family in Birbogí which at one time were Thákurs of the *kothí*, and are not yet entirely out of possession. The present head is named Tángan Choigyál, an old man of eighty; his son is *lambardár* of the *kothí*; their manor house (now in ruins) is a very conspicuous object in the landscape, as most of these Thákurs' houses are. The family was in full possession till about the beginning of this century, when Rája Bikrámá Singh of Kúlu picked a quarrel with the then Thákur, and resumed the cash, cloth, and colts out of the items of revenue, leaving him only the grain item as a means of subsistence. This arrangement remained in force, though there is nothing to show that any Sikh or British official was aware of it, till about ten years ago, when grain having risen in price, the landholders, by agreement with the head of the family, converted the grain dues into cash, which has since been paid by each *jeola* in the proportions in which the grain used to be paid.* Each, moreover, continues to furnish a man for the two great *bestis*, that is, for sowing the barley and cutting the hay on the fields owned by the quondam Thákur. These fields were also in great part excused from bearing their share of the revenue of the *kothí* by the other landholders when they distributed it at Regular Settlement. This is all that remains to the present head of the family of its former privileges. He seems to be entitled to a position not unlike that of a *talúkdár* of a village in the plains.

Rights in water in Láhaul.

The small canals upon which cultivation in Láhaul depends seem to have been always constructed and kept in repair entirely by the landholders of the villages which use them. They are considered therefore to be the property of the shareholders in the water, who cast lots every year to decide the rotation in which each man shall irrigate his fields. Each holding furnishes a man for repairs; fines are levied on absentees, and consumed in a common feast with the produce of the *yurzing* or canal field, if there is one. The

* By each *jeola*, excepting those held by two families of *dojoen*, or kinsmen of the Thákur.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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dotul, and would be considered quite justified in so doing on the grounds of customary service not having been properly performed.* The rules of inheritance in *dotul* holdings have been described in Section B of this Chapter (page 96).

423 592 792 In most holdings also a plot of from one to half a *khal* will be found in the occupation of the *lámá* brother or uncle of the head of the family. It is ploughed and sown by the latter, but the *lámá* provides the seed and gets the whole produce. There are *lámás* in almost every family, as all younger sons of the landholders are forced by custom to enter the monasteries. This maintenance land of a *lámá* is called *táo* or *tázing*, and reverts of course to the head of the family on the death of the *lámá*.

423 **Holdings or allotments other than those of the *talfá* or revenue-paying landholders (Spiti).**

[427] There are some fields at Dankar attached to the old fort there, which are like it the property of Government. The *Nono*, in virtue of his office, provides for the cultivation of the fields, and takes the produce. He is bound in return to keep the fort in repair. The *Nono* also holds other lands equal to several ordinary holdings in extent, which are his ancestral property; they are rent-free, and are mostly situated at Kuiling, where he resides. The Pín *Nono* also has rent-free land, but not more than equal to an ordinary holding in extent. At a place called Táshigong, a family of hereditary astrologers (*choba*) hold two allotments granted to them by the kings of Ladákh free of demand for revenue or *begár*.† Four families of blacksmiths also hold a rather small allotment apiece, and pay only a hearth-tax, not full revenue. The above are all independent estates of the same grade as those of the revenue-paying landholders, and inherited in the same way by the eldest son.

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Fields excluded from the regular household allotment.

There are two families who, in addition to their revenue-paying allotments, also hold good-sized plots rent-free under the name of *manzing*; they are *umchie* or hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and this land was granted to them in support of the art. The general opinion is that if they abandon the art, the *manzing* or physician's field could be taken from them and transferred to another. Many of the landholders practise medicine, but only these two families hold *manzing*. Certain fields are the full property of the monasteries: they pay no revenue, and are generally either near the monastery to which they belong, or in adjacent villages. The lands of the Dankar monastery is cultivated by six tenants, landholders in Dankar, who pay half produce as rent; that of the Pín monastery is cultivated gratuitously by the *Nono* of Pín; the men of Chuzí *kothí*, as the special clients of the monks, cultivate the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks are expected to give the men who actually do the work something for their trouble. In many villages there are one or two fields known as *Lhazing* or God-

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* He could resume the plot of land, but apparently he could not always evict from the house, as that has sometimes been built by the *dotul* himself.

† The phrasecology of the deed of grant is curious. It is drawn up and attested by officials with high sounding titles, singed and sealed at 'our palace,' &c.; and promises that the grant shall endure till the feathers of the raven turn white and the snow on the mountains black.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

land attached to the village *Lhakang* or temple. They should be considered to be the common property of the village. One of the landholders or other residents cultivates them, and pays a fixed rent which is applied to lighting the temple with lamps, or to the expenses of occasional feasts. Such a tenant can be evicted by a vote of community; sometimes all the landholders unite to cultivate these fields, and the whole produce goes to the temple expenses. Some of these temples are served by a *lámá* nominated by the *samíndárs*, others by the *samíndárs* themselves. In many villages there are fields known as *yurzing*, or canal land, the produce of which, as in Láhaul, is devoted to a feast at the time of annual canal repairs; these also should be considered the common property of the community. In all villages there are some persons known as *yulfa*, that is, village *dotuls*, who own a house and small field attached which they have reclaimed from the waste with the consent of the village community; some few have no field; but all pay a small fee towards the revenue of the village by way of hearth-tax. They could not be evicted, as the land was given them to induce them to settle permanently in the village, and on that understanding they have built their house and broken up the waste.

Fields excluded from regular house-hold allotment.

The custom with regard to *begár* is much the same as in Láhaul. Ordinary repairs of roads from village to village have been hitherto performed by the *tulfa káng-chimpas*, or regular landholders only; the *káng-chungpás*, *yáng chungpás*, and *dotuls*, have only been called upon to assist on occasion of extraordinary repairs. Mr. Lyall recommended, however, that in future each house, and not each holding, should furnish a man for repairs of roads, as is now the practice in Láhaul. For the duty of carrying letters or travellers' baggage across the passes the regular landholders alone are liable, and a roster or roll of turn of duty is kept up as in Láhaul. A landholder often gets a *dotul* or other dependant to go in his stead, but the latter is at perfect liberty to refuse, and will not go unless handsomely paid.* So, again, the landholders are primarily liable for all carriage of loads from village to village; but when the number of loads is very great, all classes are impressed. In order to have a store in hand from which to meet the demands of travellers for supplies, about a *lákh* of grain is collected from each regular landholders at the commencement of the season; any extra expenses on this or any other common account are met by a rate levied on all regular holdings in Spiti. The rate is uniform, and does not vary with the rates of revenue for different villages. At the end of the season, when all the passes have closed, a meeting is held at Dankar, called the *Talsichemno*, or great tax audit, at which the accounts of collections,

Begár or forced labour in Spiti.

* As an instance of the price paid to a substitute may be given that fixed for the journey from Kibbar, in Spiti, over the Párangla pass, to Rúpshu in Ladákh, viz., three rupees cash, two *khárí* or about 50lbs barley meal, a large pot of butter, five or six ounces of tea, a pair of boots, the loan of sheep to carry the porter's clothes, food, &c.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, C. Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

before we took the country, were seldom if ever used. Bakhtáwar of Lála, a leading shepherd of Kángra, obtained from Mr. Barnes the privilege of grazing the unoccupied runs in this country. An almost equally large tract at the head of the Bhága valley has been held for generations by another Gaddí family, which obtained a similar grant from the Thákur of Kyelang. Both these families have of late years begun to take a fee from the numerous shepherds who join them in grazing these lands. The runs held by the Kolí (or Kúlu) shepherds all lie between *purána* Kokasr and Ghondla, in the Chandra valley. The Gaddí shepherds pay one or more sheep for each run to the Thákur of the *kothí* or to the *sági* or *wazír*. This tax is known as the *kar*, or in the Láhaulí language as *rigatal*. In most cases the amount first fixed seems to have remained unchanged ever after. The Rája of Kúlu excused the Kolí shepherds from this tax, as they paid one anna per head per annum on all sheep and goats, which was collected in Kúlu. The Láhaulís now wish to see the Kolí shepherds taxed like the Gaddís; but the former argue that Mr. Barnes at Settlement included an equivalent for all grazing fees, whether in Kúlu or Láhaul, in their assessment of the land-revenue. Most of the Gaddí shepherds also give a sheep or two under the name of *bhaggati* to the men of the village next below their run. Such sheep are sacrificed and eaten in a village feast at which the shepherds attend. The fee appears to have been originally given freely to secure good will, but it is now considered a right, which could be enforced. Where the grazing ground above a village is of small extent, it is all the *chárá* or private grazing of the villagers, into which they do not permit the foreign shepherds to intrude; but in some years they permit a stray flock to squat there for a consideration. The flocks from Chamba mostly enter Láhaul by the Kukti pass, which descends into Jhobrang *kothí*. The passage of so many is something of a grievance, so by old custom the shepherds pay the men of the *kothí* one sheep per *ban* or *dhár* under the name of *batokará*. In the same way they pay toll for crossing certain *jhúlas*, or swinging bridges, to the men of the villages who erect them, under the name of *alokará*. For instance, the Jhobrang men take one sheep per *vand*, or division of a *ban*, from all who cross their *jhúla*.

The Gaddí or Kolí shepherds never penetrated to Spiti; many of them would be glad now to be allowed to graze in the upper end of the valley, but the Spiti men strongly oppose their being admitted, on the grounds that the grass is scanty, and all required for their own flocks and herds. There is one solitary sheep-run on the Spiti side of the Kanzám pass known as Máran or Shitíká, which is held by men of Jagatsukh *phátí* in Kúlu, who usually let it to a Gaddí shepherd.

SECTION C.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

Occupations.

The Láhaulís are very industrious; they work harder than the people of Kúlu, and are generally more intelligent. This may be

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and Tibet today.

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the northwest; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy systems:

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

423 times the seed (the average yield for Ladakh is ten to one, the
•427 return on the best land being twenty to one, the return on the poorest, five to one).

(2) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets 50 per cent of the crop.

(3) The tenant furnishes the seed, labor, work animals, and water and pays the landlord 50 per cent of the crop.

(4) The landlord gets five rupees (about one dollar) for every two *kanals* (one *kanal* equals one sixteenth acre) of land, the rent being paid in cash or crops.

This fourth method is now the most common one; and whether the monastery collects cash or crops depends on the deal made with the individual farmer.

426 Loans and usury cut down the tenant's share considerably. Historically, a landlord advancing eighty-two rupees gets twenty rupees in interest. Professional moneylenders used to charge as much if not more. The stories of usurious interest in Ladakh and Tibet would make even our avaricious loan sharks wince.

792 The monasteries have done their share of exploitation, but their
426 management of agricultural credit has usually been more humane
452 than that of other creditors. If a debtor was hopelessly involved, the monastery would take over one half of the land for three years. If the debt was not liquidated in that period, the land would be restored to the debtor and the debt written off. Monasteries seldom allowed land to be alienated permanently for debt. Their credit system bore heavily on tenant and landowner alike. But relatively speaking, the monastery did not exploit the farmer through avaricious practices.

426 The liberal Kashmir government has adopted corrective meas-
452 ures for all agricultural credit. Kashmir now has a debtor's relief
671 act designed to discharge extortionate debts and to provide repay-
657 ments in convenient installments. It is now the law of Kashmir that no landlord can charge any interest on a loan to his tenant. And moneylenders today are restricted by law to 5 per cent on their LOANS.

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to purchase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being 436 responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the 161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro- 595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great 181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious 787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist 805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the 134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

A Second Crop.

241 In recent years the peasants have shown considerable enterprise by sowing two crops in a year, the first being that of barley, followed by a crop of buckwheat.

How Grass and Straw are sold.

435 When selling grass, the peasant disposes of it at the rate of one rupee per two 'martacks' (a martack being a load of grass which can be enclosed by a leather rope 24 cubits in length).

[482] Similarly, straw is sold by the martack, but in order to carry this load it is necessary to use two ropes of 24 cubits length, and adjust them so as to form a sort of net. Three of these loads of straw can be bought for a rupee.

241 *Method of Sowing.*

The seed is first scattered over the field and then ploughed in with a light plough which can

[231] easily be carried on one's shoulder. The plough is drawn by *dzos* (male hybrid of a yak and a cow), whereas in other parts of Tibet the seed is thrown into the furrows.

Occasionally a harrow made of thorns tied together is drawn across the ploughed field by *dzos*, though the usual practice is to beat the clods of earth with mattocks.

427 *Letting Land.*

241 It often happens that a farmer will let his land to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the watercourse supplying the field with water.

249 *Rusta* (*Inula Helenium*).

Of late years the peasants have engaged energetically in the development of a spicy root called *Rusta* (Inula Helenium). This root was originally smuggled into the country from the Kashmir State which has the monopoly of *Rusta*. It is readily grown and, when matured, dried and sold, yields a handsome profit, its cost price being about Rs. 2 and 8 annas per lb.

Exchange of Labour.

476 As most transactions between the peasants are

[436] conducted by way of exchange in goods or labour, little money is passed from hand to hand.

For instance, if a farmer requires three or four

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

105 423 651 for the payment of the tax. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil is not taken into consideration, and this has led to complaints of unjust imposition, which the government has tried in the past to remedy. Cash is the medium in which taxes are paid, but along the Trade Route, grain and wood are often collected by the authorities instead, as these products are badly needed by the traders on their way to and from Central Asia. In 1938, revenue totalled Rs. 50,823.

105 423 427 The *zhing-k'ham* is in every way comparable to the *khalsa khotis* of Lahul, which are really *jeolas* or allotments by the State to individuals as we have seen (see p. 309). They are unlimited in time and the tenant-occupant cannot be evicted. As it is said in Ladak, he will have his holding "until the Kang-ri (*Gangs-ri*) glacier melts", or "until the crow turns white", or "until Tso Mapan (Lake Manasarowar) dries up", or "until the rocks grow hair", or "until the rivers run uphill', or again "until the pencil cedar loses its leaves".

A tenant-occupant is allowed to sub-let his holding to another tenant, and he can do this also in perpetuity, so that the sub-tenant cannot be evicted either. These two types of tenancy, the one from the State and the other from a tenant of the latter, are called tenancy with occupation. They are to be distinguished from tenancy without occupation, which is limited in time, and from which the tenant can be evicted. Usually, a fixed time for the tenancy is decided upon in advance if it is to be of the limited type and after a certain date the temporary holder has no longer any right of occupation. Mohammedans all over Ladak can be evicted even from holdings in which there is tenancy with occupation if the family unit has no male issue, in which case, the holding either reverts to the State's tenant, or to the State, whichever the case may be. Tenancy with occupation in the case of Buddhists is hereditary, and a female heir in no way compromises the succession and the ownership of the holding, as we shall see.

105 241 [134] Barley, wheat, peas, beans, are among the principal crops grown in Ladak in the spring. In the autumn, buckwheat, millet and turnips are cultivated, together with a certain amount of fodder grasses for the cattle. The soil is sandy nearly everywhere, and careful manuring is essential. Earth is often brought from the hill-sides for top-dressing of the fields, and it is not uncommon to see this being done when the snow is still lying on the ground, in order to hasten the thaw. Ploughing [231] is done with *dzos* (hybrids of yak and cow), which, together with ordinary cattle and ponies, constitute the domestic animals to be found in Ladak. The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such